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FM AMEMBASSY KABUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1286
INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
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SUBJ: AFGHAN EXTERNAL RELATIONS: A 1974 ASSESSMENT

1. SUMMARY: DURING 1974 AFGHANISTAN MAINTAINED ITS STAGNANT
NON-ALIGNED STANCE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AND AT THE SAME TIME
ADDED IMPETUS TO DIPLOMACY WITHIN ITS OWN REGION. WITH THE
NOTABLE EXCEPTION OF PAKISTAN, AFGHANISTAN DURING 1974
ENJOYED EXCELLENT FOREIGN RELATIONS WITH A BROAD SPECTRUM
OF COUNTRIES. ITS DIPLOMATIC WORK IN THE NEAR EAST WAS
ESPECIALLY FRUITFUL, BOTH IN TERMS OF AIRING ITS FOREIGN
POLICY, ESPECIALLY VIS-A-VIS PAKISTAN, AND IN HARD TERMS

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OF AID COLLECTING. RAPPROCHMENT WITH IRAN WAS A MAJOR BREAK-THROUGH. PRESIDENT DAQUD'S VISIT DURING JUNE TO THE SOVIET UNION WAS A DIPLOMATIC MAIN EVENT, JUST AS WERE SECRETARY KISSINGER'S NOVEMBER VISIT TO KABUL AND THE NAIM-WAHEED ABDULLAH DECEMBER JOURNEY TO PEKING. ALL THESE VISITS SCORED IN DEMONSTRATING AFGHANISTAN'S NON-ALIGNMENT BEFORE THE MAJOR POWERS. ADVERSELY AFFECTING THIS GENERALLY FAVORABLE PICTURE WAS AFGHANISTAN'S "FORWARD POLICY" ON PUSHTUNISTAN, A DAQUD TRADEMARK, AND RESULTANT HOSTILITY GENERATED WITH THE PAKISTANI GOVERNMENT. AFGHAN-PAK RELATIONS WERE MARKED BY VICIOUS PROPAGANDA, FEINTS AT MILITARY ACTION, MUTUAL RECRIMINATIONS OVER MEDDLING IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMATIC IMBROGLIOS. THE YEAR ENDED WITH NO PROSPECTS FOR IMPROVEMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. AFGHANISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY DURING 1974 WAS ACTIVIST AND POSITIVE, AND OUR FEELING IS THAT THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR FOUND AFGHAN RELATIONS IMPROVED EVERYWHERE WITH THE NOTABLE EXCEPTION OF PAKISTAN. PRESIDENT DAQUD SAID DURING HIS FIRST POST-COUP MAJOR POLICY STATEMENT THAT AFGHANISTAN'S DIFFERENCES WERE WITH PAKISTAN ONLY, AND CERTAINLY LAST YEAR'S ACTIVITIES ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT UNDERLINED THIS ASSERTION. AFGHAN DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS ACHIEVED A GREATER APPRECIATION OF ITS NON-ALIGNED POSITION, HIGHLIGHTED ITS SIDE OF THE STORY OF PAK-AFGHAN DIFFERENCES, OBTAINED SUBSTANTIAL PROMISES OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND DIVERSIFIED ITS FOREIGN MILITARY TRAINING PROGRAMS.

3. STEADIEST AND MOST PERSISTENT DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS WERE TOWARD STATES OF THE REGION, WHERE AFGHANISTAN MANAGED TO EXPLOIT ALL ITS ISLAMIC TIES TO THE MAXIMUM EXTENT WHILE REMAINING MODERATE (OR AT LEAST QUIET) IN ITS VIEWS TOWARD ISRAEL AND COURTING INDIA RIGHT UP TO BEDSIDE.

4. OF PERHAPS GREATEST LASTING CONSEQUENCE WAS AFGHANISTAN'S RAPPROCHMENT WITH IRAN, WHICH REPRESENTED REVERSAL OF AN HISTORIC TREND LASTING MORE THAN A CENTURY AS WELL AS A NEW BREAKTHROUGH IN AFGHAN AND IRANIAN DIPLOMACY. IT MEANS OPENING AFGHANISTAN TO INPUTS OF IRANIAN AID MONEY. (THE FIGURE \$2 BILLION HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY MENTIONED, WHICH MAKES PALE MOST OTHER CONVERSATIONS ABOUT DEVELOPMENT

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ASSISTANCE: IN FACT THE SHAH APPEARS TO HAVE OFFERED A BLANK CHECK TO FINANCE PROJECTS WHICH ARE YET TO BE DEVELOPED.) IT ALSO MOVES AFGHANISTAN CLOSER TO A MAJOR WESTERN-ORIENTED FINANCIAL POWER. WE SHOULD ADD HERE HOWEVER THAT WE SEE THIS REGIONAL INTEREST ON THE PART OF AFGHANISTAN NOT AS AN ABANDONMENT OF ITS TRADITIONAL "HI-TARAFI" (NON-ALIGNMENT, AS BETWEEN AN EASTERN AND WESTERN ORIENTATION) BUT RATHER A MEANS OF GIVING GREATER SUBSTANCE TO IT.

5. EXCHANGES OF VISITS WITH MANY COUNTRIES WERE FREQUENT AND, WE BELIEVE, FOR THE MOST PART PRODUCTIVE IN TERMS OF AFGHAN AIDS. DAQUD SENT HIS BROTHER NAIM TOGETHER WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ABDULLAH TO INDIA TWICE AND TO IRAQ, LIBYA, ALGERIA, EGYPT, SAUDI ARABIA, IRAN AND KUWAIT. ABDULLAH ALONE VISITED BULGARIA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, KUWAIT, IRAN, BANGLADESH AND MALAYSIA (FOR THE ISLAMIC FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING). THE IRANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER AND MINISTER OF COMMERCE, THE CHIEF OF THE ISLAMIC SECRETARIAT AND AN INDIAN MILITARY DELEGATION WERE AMONG THE VISITORS TO KABUL. AFGHAN MILITARY DELEGATIONS WENT TO MOSCOW AND NEW DELHI.

6. WHILE IT IS DIFFICULT TO STATE IN CRASS MONETARY AND MILITARY TERMS JUST WHAT THESE TO-INGS AND FRO-INGS WILL ACTUALLY NET AFGHANISTAN, SEVERAL NOTABLE PLEDGES HAVE EMERGED. IN ADDITION TO THE IRANIAN COMMITMENT, SAUDI ARABIA HAS GRANTED \$10 MILLION AND PROMISED A \$55 MILLION INTEREST-FREE LOAN; IRAQ HAS SET UP A \$10 MILLION LOAN PLUS A \$2 MILLION GRANT; PROSPECTS WITH KUWAIT ARE EXTREMELY PROMISING. SMALL TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR AFGHAN MILITARY PERSONNEL WERE LAUNCHED BY INDIA AND EGYPT, WHICH TEND TO REDUCE SLIGHTLY AFGHAN DEPENDENCE ON THE USSR IN THAT FIELD.

7. IN WHAT CAN BE TERMED THE DIPLOMATIC BIG LEAGUE AFGHANISTAN FARED EQUALLY WELL. THE TOP PROTOCOL EVENT OF THE YEAR WAS PRESIDENT DAQUD'S JUNE 4-8 TRIP TO MOSCOW. OF DIPLOMATIC IMPORTANCE WAS THE WAY IN WHICH THIS VISIT SYMBOLIZED THE CLOSE, ALMOST-BUT-NOT-EXACTLY CLIENTELAR, RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION; OF PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE WAS AFGHANISTAN'S OBTAINING \$200 MILLION (LATER DESCRIBED AS HAVING DOUBLED INTO A LOAN OF \$412 MILLION) IN DEVELOP-

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MENT ASSISTANCE FOR TWENTY-ONE PROJECT AREAS, DEBT RELIEF ON EARLIER LOANS OF SOME \$134 MILLION, AND AN INCREASED PRICE FOR THE NATURAL GAS FLOWING TO THE SOVIET UNION--AN IMPRESSIVE COMMITMENT EVEN CONSIDERING THAT THE DEVELOPMENT AID IS, TIMEWISE, OPEN-ENDED.

B. BALANCING THIS, IN A KIND OF CALDER MOBILE ASYMMETRY, WERE TWO OTHER DIPLOMATIC MAIN EVENTS: SECRETARY KISSINGER'S VISIT TO KABUL ON NOVEMBER 1 AND THE NAIM-ABDULLAH VISIT TO PEKING DURING DECEMBER. FROM THE FIRST CAME A RENEWED COMMITMENT TO AFGHAN INDEPENDENCE DEVELOPMENT; FROM THE SECOND THE UPGRADING OF CERTAIN MODEST UNDERTAKINGS TO A NEW CHINESE DEVELOPMENT COMMITMENT VALUED AT \$55 MILLION; AND FROM BOTH RECOGNITION OF AFGHAN NON-ALIGNMENT. ADD TO THIS THE FACT THAT AFGHANISTAN ACHIEVED AN AIRING OF ITS PUSHTUNISTAN COMPLAINTS BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS AND PLAYED A ROLE IN

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